

Diversion for Juvenile Offenders Involved in Gang-Related Crimes

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Abstract

This study examines the implementation of diversion policies for adolescents involved in gang activities within the juvenile criminal justice system in Indonesia. The phenomenon of children involved in criminal gangs is on the rise, raising legal and social concerns. Diversion of children from formal prosecution is regulated in Law No. 11 of 2012 on SPPA and PERMA No. 4 of 2014. This study employs a normative legal method with a literature review approach, analyzing legislation, legal literature, and court rulings. The findings indicate that although diversion policies are well-regulated in theory, their implementation faces significant challenges, including a lack of understanding among officials, limited facilities, and weak coordination between institutions. As a result, there is an urgent need to strengthen the regulatory framework, enhance the capacity of implementers, and adopt a more contextual and community-based approach to ensure the optimal implementation of diversion strategies.

Keywords: Diversion, Child Gangster, Restorative Justice.



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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of crimes involving children, particularly in the form of participation in gangster groups, has become a serious concern in Indonesia. Data from the Directorate General of Corrections of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (2023) indicates that approximately 2,000 children were in conflict with the law as of August 2023, with 526 of them being detainees and 1,467 holding the status of suspects (Ratri & A, 2024). Similarly, the Criminal Information Center (Pusiknas) of the Indonesian National Police recorded hundreds of juvenile suspects in criminal cases since early 2025, including 437 theft cases and 460 assault cases (Polri, 2025). The increasing number of juvenile crime cases has raised public concern and become a significant social urgency. Moreover, the emergence of student gangster groups in several cities illustrates a new face of juvenile delinquency one that is more organized and violent (Yuhani'ah, 2025).

Law enforcement authorities and the public have also paid increasing attention to the phenomenon of youth gangster groups. Data from the Surabaya Metropolitan Police (Polrestabes Surabaya) show a rise in cases involving juvenile suspects participating in acts of violence committed by organized groups, with motives such as revenge and group solidarity identified as dominant factors. This situation stands in stark contrast to the principle of restorative justice enshrined in Law No. 11 of 2012 concerning the Juvenile Criminal

Justice System (SPPA Law), which emphasizes diversion as a resolution mechanism outside the formal judicial process (Rulmuzu, 2021), Security experts note that the term “gangster” often refers to teenage criminal groups consisting of junior and senior high school students, vocational students, and school dropouts, who frequently engage in street brawls, illegal racing, alcohol abuse, and even violent assaults using sharp weapons. The Surabaya police have claimed that dozens of such gangster groups have been “disbanded,” but hundreds of their members have been returned to their parents without undergoing legal proceedings, as they had not yet been formally processed (Ray, 2024).

The Juvenile Justice Law grants several special rights to children, including those accused or found guilty of committing serious criminal offenses. The stated vision of this law is to “provide the best care, protection, and rehabilitation by considering the optimal development of children, adopting a child-friendly framework in resolving disputes, and managing cases in the best interest of the child, as well as promoting long-term recovery and rehabilitation” (Vashishth et al., 2024).

Children involved in criminal gangs engage in illegal acts such as street brawls, vandalism, robbery, and even murder, all of which disrupt public order (Adillah et al., 2024). These circumstances highlight the urgency and significance of addressing juvenile delinquency rooted in gangsterism within the broader socio-security context (Septiana & Harefa, 2024). Therefore, the study of juvenile criminal law should pay particular attention and sensitivity to these conditions.

Indonesia already possesses a specific legal framework to address juvenile delinquency. In accordance with Law No. 11 of 2012 concerning the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA), a restorative justice approach and child protection are established as core priorities. The concept of diversion is employed as the primary mechanism for resolving juvenile cases, allowing children to settle their cases outside the formal judicial process (Cahyo & Cahyaningtyas, 2021). By adopting a restorative justice paradigm, the fundamental aim of diversion is to minimize the negative impact of legal proceedings on the child’s growth and development. From the investigation stage to guidance in case resolution, the SPPA law outlines the applicable procedures. This is carried out through the diversion process, which aims to reconcile victims and juvenile offenders, resolve cases outside the court system, prevent child detention, encourage community participation, and instill a sense of accountability in the child (D. Setyowati, 2020). Based on the SPPA and its accompanying regulations, the implementation of diversion is strictly regulated, involving the participation of families, victims, and the community, and prioritizing the best interests of the child. Legally, diversion is defined as the transfer of a child’s case resolution from the judicial process to an alternative system outside the court (Tetelepta et al., 2024). The primary goal of diversion is to safeguard the rights of children in conflict with the law by avoiding the detrimental effects of the formal penal system. Conventional trials often result in social stigma and a risk of recidivism for juveniles; therefore, diversion is expected to prevent them from evolving into adult offenders (Maran et al., 2024). In other words, diversion emphasizes family-oriented and rehabilitative recovery over punitive measures. The principles of restorative justice and the best interest of the child enshrined in the articles of the SPPA form the conceptual foundation of this legal framework.

Although the diversion policy is mandated for implementation in practice, several issues persist. Obstacles include difficulties in reaching agreements between offenders and victims, limited awareness among individuals and law enforcement institutions regarding the diversion process, and the inadequate competence of juvenile judges (Kurniawan et al., 2024).

For example, a study conducted in Bima Regency revealed that although law enforcement officers were familiar with the relevant legal frameworks, the practical application remained suboptimal due to the absence of victims' participation, a lack of supporting facilities, and the insufficient integration of restorative justice principles within the local legal culture. Similar conditions have been observed in other studies, which emphasize various structural and cultural barriers to the effective implementation of diversion in Indonesia. As a result, diversion may fall short in delivering justice and protection for children (Baharudin, 2025).

Conversely, scholarly research on diversion often examines cases of Children in Conflict with the Law or juvenile recidivists in general, without distinguishing the unique characteristics of children involved in criminal gangs. In other words, there is a scarcity of studies that specifically explore how diversion is applied to children affiliated with gangster groups or the particular challenges encountered in such contexts (S et al., 2023). For instance, although gang-involved children often undergo a process of criminal radicalization and exhibit distinct patterns of violence, prior research has seldom addressed the implications of these factors for tailored diversion policies. The differing care and rehabilitation needs between gang-involved youth and "ordinary" juvenile offenders highlight the need for further targeted research (Krisnalita, 2023).

Previous studies, such as those by Rulmuzu (2021) and Ray (2024), have examined diversion in general or in the context of minor offenses, but few have specifically focused on the distinct characteristics of children involved in gangster groups. Research by Adillah et al. (2024) indicates that children in gangs often possess violent backgrounds that differ significantly from those of ordinary juvenile offenders. Consequently, the diversion approach requires adaptation to ensure it remains both effective and just.

Moreover, the implementation of diversion is not always ideal in practice. (Isnawan, 2023) describes the juvenile justice system as a double-edged sword while it prioritizes the best interests of the child, in reality, offenders often cause real harm to victims who demand justice. In many cases, diversion fails to proceed because victims seek substantial compensation or insist that the offender be processed through formal legal channels to serve as a deterrent.

Based on the above explanation, the research problem in this study is formulated as follows: "How is the implementation of diversion policies for children involved in gangster groups within Indonesia's juvenile criminal justice system, and what challenges are encountered in its application?" This study aims to analyze the implementation of diversion in cases involving children affiliated with gangster groups, based on Law No. 11 of 2012 concerning the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA) and its implementing regulations. Furthermore, it seeks to explore both normative and practical obstacles that hinder the success of diversion programs. This research is expected to offer regulatory and contextual recommendations, as well as humanistic approaches to fulfill the rights of children in conflict

with the law, emphasizing prevention and rehabilitation through diversion and restorative justice. The author will elaborate on these matters in a study entitled “Diversion in Juvenile Crimes Involving Gangster Membership.”

RESEARCH METHODS

This research employs a normative juridical method, which is a legal research approach focused on the study of written legal norms. This approach does not utilize primary data from the field but emphasizes library research to examine the legal substance related to the implementation of diversion within the juvenile criminal justice system, particularly concerning children involved in gangster groups. The data sources in this study consist of:

- 1) Primary legal sources, namely relevant laws and regulations such as Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (UU SPPA) and Supreme Court Regulation (PERMA) Number 4 of 2014.
- 2) Secondary legal sources, including scholarly journals, legal textbooks, academic articles, and previous research findings.

The data analysis is conducted using a descriptive-qualitative approach by elaborating, interpreting, and evaluating the effectiveness of applicable legal norms and the obstacles in the implementation of diversion in cases involving gangster-affiliated juveniles. This approach aims to provide a comprehensive understanding and legal argumentation that can serve as both normative and practical recommendations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Concept of Diversion in Indonesia’s Juvenile Criminal Justice System

Diversion is a critical mechanism for addressing juvenile delinquency in Indonesia. In accordance with Government Regulation No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA), every case involving a child under the age of 18 must apply a diversion plan. Article 5 paragraph (3) of the SPPA mandates the implementation of diversion within the juvenile justice system. As explained in Article 8 paragraph (1), the diversion process may be conducted in consultation with parents, guardians, social workers, and other relevant parties using a restorative justice approach. The objectives of diversion are outlined in Article 6 of the SPPA Regulation. These include providing learning experiences outside the classroom, involving children in the legal system, encouraging community participation, fostering a sense of responsibility in children, and achieving harmony between adults and children. On the other hand, Article 7 of the SPPA stipulates limitations and prohibitions that apply in the implementation of diversion. To be eligible for diversion, the offense committed must be punishable by imprisonment of less than seven years and must not involve a repeat offense or a serious crime (Abadiyah & Wibawa, 2024). Consequently, formal diversion is not available for children whose parents have been convicted of crimes or sentenced to 15 years or more of imprisonment. These provisions are based on Article 7 of the SPPA and the explanatory section of Law No. 11 of 2012.

This obligation indicates that diversion is not merely an alternative case resolution mechanism, but rather a primary and essential approach in handling juvenile offenders. Supreme Court Regulation (PERMA) No. 4 of 2014 on Guidelines for the Implementation of Diversion in the Juvenile Criminal Justice System was issued by the Supreme Court to

operationalize the provisions of the law. This regulation aims to close legal loopholes and to ensure that all procedures align with the rules set forth by the Juvenile Criminal Justice System. With the issuance of this regulation, Indonesia has demonstrated its commitment to harmonizing the Juvenile Criminal Justice System with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. As highlighted by Khairunnisya (2023), one of the main issues in addressing juvenile offenders lies in the inconsistency and lack of procedural clarity (Khairunnisya, 2023). PERMA No. 4 of 2014, therefore, serves as an implementing regulation intended to close legal gaps and to ensure alignment between national juvenile justice procedures and international human rights norms. The issuance of this regulation clearly reflects Indonesia's seriousness in aligning its juvenile justice system with the principles established in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Mulyana Saputri et al., 2024).

Diversion has a clear set of objectives as stipulated in Article 6 of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System Law (UU SPPA). These objectives include: achieving reconciliation between the victim and the child offender, resolving juvenile cases outside of court, preventing the deprivation of the child's liberty, encouraging community participation, and instilling a sense of responsibility in the child. These goals are not centered on punishment, but rather on restoring relationships and promoting rehabilitation through a restorative justice approach (Law No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, 2012). The benefits of diversion are also viewed from the perspective of child protection. The SPPA's vision is not merely to impose criminal sanctions on children who commit criminal acts, but also to protect their rights. Consequently, diversion offers children an opportunity to grow and develop without being adversely affected by formal judicial processes (Putra et al., 2022). The implementation of juvenile diversion follows the procedures outlined in Supreme Court Regulation (PERMA) No. 4 of 2014. This regulation stipulates that a diversion agreement must be reached through dialogue among involved parties using a restorative justice method (Pardjanihadi, 2021). The diversion process involves participants such as the victim and/or their family members, community counselors, licensed social workers, and respected community figures. In this process, the judge acts as a mediator between the parties. PERMA also allows for private meetings, or "caucuses", between facilitators and certain parties. A written agreement, signed by all involved, formalizes the outcome of the diversion procedure. In Case No. 3/Pid-Sus Anak/2023/PN Msh, a judicial case exemplifying the application of diversion, the judge instructed that the diversion be carried out in accordance with the procedures prescribed in PERMA No. 4/2014. This case illustrates the appropriate use of diversion procedures in line with applicable legal standards (Mayliyanti et al., 2025).

Characteristics and Crime Patterns of the Juvenile Gangster Phenomenon in Indonesia

The phenomenon of children involved in gangster or criminal gang groups has become a serious issue in various cities across Indonesia. Juvenile gangs in Indonesia are generally characterized by behaviors that violate social and legal norms, encompassing various forms of juvenile delinquency to more severe criminal acts. The crime patterns committed by these youth gangs vary, ranging from group brawls to fatal assaults.

Cases in Indonesia indicate an escalation of violence in conflicts between youth gang groups. This suggests that the juvenile gang phenomenon is not merely a case of typical adolescent misbehavior, but has evolved into a serious public safety and security concern.

Children's involvement in gangster groups is often driven by social, economic, and psychological factors (Aidy, 2021). Research shows that understanding these underlying elements is crucial for designing effective prevention and intervention strategies. In addressing incidents involving children in gangster activities, the criminal justice approach must take these causative elements into account.

The Juvenile Justice System (SPPA) faces specific challenges in handling cases involving children participating in gangsterism. First, the elements of law enforcement must be balanced with the principle of child protection. Criminal acts committed by juvenile gang members may have significant consequences (Copes et al., 2020), yet the justice system must recognize that these individuals are children in need of special protection. Second, juvenile gangster cases often involve organized group crimes, which complicates the application of diversion. According to the SPPA Law, diversion is limited to criminal offenses punishable by less than seven years of imprisonment and that are not repeat offenses.

Such restrictions may hinder the application of diversion in serious criminal cases involving juvenile gangsters. Third, there is difficulty in achieving effective collaboration among institutions and stakeholders. Police, prosecutors, the judiciary, correctional counselors (BAPAS), and social institutions must work together in addressing juvenile gangster cases. A fragmented process and ineffective child rehabilitation efforts are unlikely to succeed without strong inter-agency cooperation (Gurindro, 2022).

Diversion Practices in Juvenile Gangster Cases

Diversion programs have been implemented in various regions across Indonesia to address cases involving juvenile gang members. Based on multiple studies, reducing juvenile delinquency and combating youth gangs requires effective youth development programs, increased public awareness, and strengthened family involvement. These strategies align with the principles of diversion, which prioritize rehabilitation and guidance over punishment. One notable example is the prosecutor's efforts to apply diversion in juvenile gangster cases. Research has examined the effectiveness of implementing Supreme Court Regulation (PERMA) No. 4 of 2014 at the prosecutorial level. These studies indicate that diversion is a case resolution method rooted in restorative justice.

Diversion practices also include negotiated agreements for resolution methods, such as reconciliation with or without compensation, return to parental or guardian custody, or placement in social institutions. To avoid stigma, these agreements must account for the victim's interests, the child's well-being, and the child's responsibilities.

In several judicial decisions, both successful and unsuccessful applications of diversion have been documented. For instance, in 2020, the Semarang District Court adopted a non-penal approach to a case involving a juvenile motorbike gang member. In Case No. 11/Pid.Sus-Anak/2020/PN.Smg, diversion was applied at all stages investigation (where the police facilitated diversion), prosecution (where the public prosecutor initiated it), and trial (where the judge prioritized peaceful resolution). Despite the child's gang involvement, restorative justice principles under the SPPA Law were used to justify a restitutive alternative.

In contrast, many violent cases involving minors, even when not gang-related, have also been resolved through diversion. For example, a study by Nia Khairunnisya (2023) reported that cases No. 15/Pen.Div/2021/PN.RP and 47/Pid.Sus-Anak/2020/PN Medan were resolved

via diversion, where the victims sustained injuries. This illustrates that diversion is possible when the crime is not severe and the victim agrees to reconcile.

In summary, diversion for juvenile offenders including those involved in gang activities is largely dependent on the severity of the offense and the victim's willingness to resolve the matter amicably. When legal criteria and child protection principles are met, diversion can be successfully implemented (as seen in Semarang, 2020). However, in serious violent crimes, statutory requirements and criminal justice logic necessitate formal legal proceedings, making diversion inapplicable.

Legal Principles of Diversion: Child Protection and Best Interests

The Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA) in Indonesia is founded on principles of child protection and the best interests of the child. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989), ratified by Indonesia through Presidential Decree No. 36 of 1990, along with the Child Protection Law, affirm the principles of non-discrimination, the best interests of the child, survival and development, and respect for the views of the child. These principles are reflected in the SPPA Law, which positions diversion as a form of ultimum remedium (a last resort in criminal sanctioning). As explained in various scholarly works, including by Zenegger et al. (2024), criminal punishment should only be applied as a last measure; before prosecuting a child, diversion must be prioritized in alignment with the child's best interests (Zenegger et al., 2024).

Law No. 11 of 2012 concerning the Juvenile Criminal Justice System emphasizes that protection and the best interests of the child are crucial in every aspect of juvenile justice, including the implementation of diversion. This protective framework demands that children be shielded from violence, discrimination, and other rights violations throughout the judicial process (Anwar & Wijaya, 2020).

The principle of best interests requires that every decision made during the diversion process take into account the child's development and future. However, applying this principle becomes particularly challenging in cases involving juvenile gang members, as it must be balanced with the interests of society and the victims of crime.

The application of these principles in diversion cases involving children in gangs requires a comprehensive and individualized approach. Each case must be assessed based on the unique circumstances and background of the child in question, as well as the long-term consequences of any legal decision made (Pramesti, 2023).

Restorative justice principles also form the normative basis of the SPPA. Restorative justice is explicitly regulated under Article 5(1) of the SPPA Law. According to Article 8, diversion is conducted through restorative dialogue involving the offender, victim, their families, and community representatives (Cahyo & Cahyaningtyas, 2021). The ultimate aim of this approach is to restore the victim and reintegrate the child into society. Therefore, diversion emphasizes rehabilitation and support for the child over punitive measures. As noted in the SPPA framework: "Children are not to be punished, but guided and nurtured... so they may grow into healthy, intelligent, and well-adjusted individuals." The restorative values of justice are thus embedded within the core principles of the SPPA (Thoriq & Ramziati, 2024).

Challenges and Implementation of Diversion and Efforts to Address Juvenile Gangster Cases

The implementation of diversion in juvenile gangster cases requires models that are both effective and tailored to the specific circumstances of such cases. The absence of respected community figures often contributes to young people acting recklessly within their neighborhoods. Local communities also tend to remain silent when gang violence occurs in their areas, primarily out of fear of retaliation from the perpetrators. Furthermore, due to generally low levels of education, government efforts to provide legal and social education are often ineffective.

Diversion in juvenile gang cases faces numerous challenges, both legal and practical. One of the legal obstacles lies in the fact that the SPPA Law restricts diversion programs only to first-time offenders and to offenses carrying a maximum sentence of seven years or less. Juvenile offenders, who often commit serious crimes, may thus find themselves ineligible for diversion, making this legal restriction a significant barrier. Practical challenges include a lack of human resources and infrastructure to support diversion programs. There is a shortage of trained professionals such as juvenile judges, juvenile prosecutors, and BAPAS (Correctional Center) officers capable of facilitating diversion. Additionally, rehabilitation and development facilities suitable for juvenile gang members are still limited. Another major issue is the lack of interagency coordination in implementing diversion. Research indicates that effective diversion requires seamless cooperation among police, prosecutors, courts, BAPAS, and social institutions. Without such cooperation, the process of diversion and the rehabilitation of children involved in gang activity cannot be achieved.

In the realm of criminal policy, this issue relates to preventive and repressive efforts aimed at combating crime. Broader social policies particularly those concerning social welfare and community protection must also intersect with and support criminal justice policies to ensure a holistic and sustainable approach to preventing juvenile gangsterism.

The police, in collaboration with government entities and the wider community, have undertaken and continue to pursue various efforts to prevent crimes associated with gang activity (Syahadat et al., 2024). In addressing criminal behavior, there are three primary approaches: pre-emptive, preventive, and repressive. These strategies aim to reduce and ideally eliminate gang-related crimes.

Initial measures taken by all relevant parties to prevent criminal activities are referred to as preventive actions. Efforts to reduce gang-related offenses primarily include guiding youth toward morally and ethically sound decision-making, strengthening family bonds, and limiting exposure to negative peer pressure.

Targeting areas frequently visited by gang members, offering positive youth engagement programs, and providing school-based education about the dangers of juvenile involvement in criminal organizations are among the most effective strategies to curtail gang activity. In cases involving gangs composed mostly of adolescents, it is essential to recognize that, while puberty is marked by emotional volatility, it is also a critical period during which youth can grow and reach their full potential.

In responding to gang-related crimes, punitive actions are taken after the crimes have occurred. Sanctions and rehabilitation programs are two repressive strategies that can be

employed to suppress gang-related offenses. The police must act swiftly to dismantle gangs and apprehend their members to prevent further violent crimes (Alfaizi, 2021). Law enforcement efforts to reduce gang violence include educating gang members about the consequences of their actions, deploying patrols in high-crime areas, resolving conflicts, and working to foster positive role models within communities.

Several preventive measures can be employed to reduce crime rates. These include strengthening social programs to lower unemployment, which in turn reduces crime; improving administrative systems and oversight to prevent anomalies; enhancing legal education so that the public better understands the law; and strengthening security by increasing the number of law enforcement officers (Maulana & Widjanti, 2024).

As stipulated in PERMA No. 4 of 2014, diversion agreements can be reached through discussions based on restorative justice principles involving multiple stakeholders. There are several diversion models that can be applied, including:

Family Group Conferencing Model: This model involves meetings between the offender, the victim, their families, and other relevant parties to discuss the consequences of the crime and explore ways to repair the harm. It can help juvenile gang members understand the impact of their actions and encourage family support. **Victim-Offender Mediation Model:** Facilitated by a mediator, this model allows offenders and victims to meet and reach agreements on restitution or other restorative actions. This can be particularly effective if there is a specific victim affected by gang-related behavior. **Community Mentoring Model:** This model involves mentorship by respected community figures who guide juveniles and support their reintegration into society. It is especially relevant for gang-involved youth, who often need positive role models and structured guidance (S. Setyowati, 2024)

Innovations in the handling of juvenile gang cases can help overcome the challenges of diversion implementation. One promising step is the use of technology in the diversion process and in monitoring juveniles. Digital platforms and mobile applications can facilitate communication among stakeholders and track the progress of children undergoing rehabilitation programs (Samosir et al., 2021). Another innovative approach involves the development of community-based mentorship programs that include former gang members who have successfully been rehabilitated. These individuals can serve as role models for gang-involved youth and help convey the negative consequences of gang involvement. Additionally, implementing more holistic and individualized strategies in juvenile gang cases is crucial. Rehabilitation programs should be tailored to the unique situations and needs of each child. This method requires comprehensive assessment of both risk and protective factors related to the child (Rosidah, 2019).

Finding

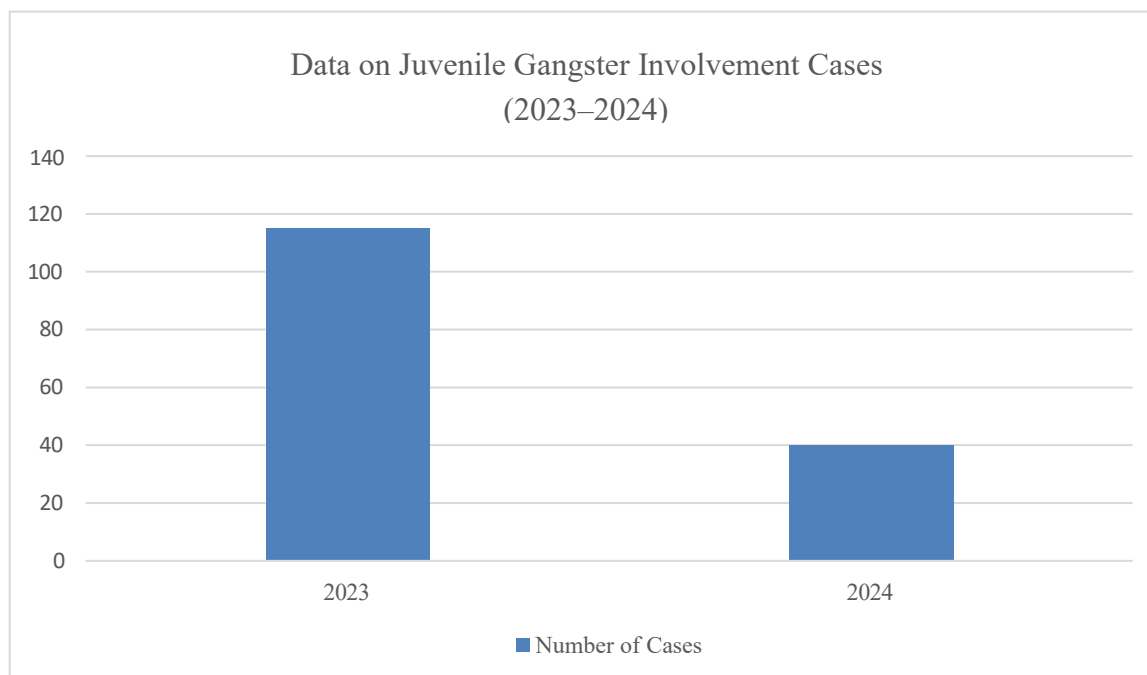


Table 1. Data on Juvenile Involvement in Gangster Cases (2023–2024)

Source processed from: (BangsaOnline, 2023), (Jatim, 2024), *And* (Liputan6, 2024)

Based on this data, it shows the number of cases involving children in gangster activities in 2023 and 2024. In 2023, approximately 115 cases were recorded, indicating a high level of youth involvement in group criminal actions. However, in 2024, this number dropped significantly to around 40 cases.

This decline reflects the effectiveness of preventive measures such as guidance provided by the Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (DP3A), as well as routine patrols by the police. Although this trend is positive, gangster-related cases among children still require continuous attention and intervention to prevent a future resurgence.

CONCLUSION

Diversion as a form of juvenile case resolution outside the criminal justice system is a strategic step aligned with the principles of child protection and restorative justice, as stipulated in Law No. 11 of 2012 concerning the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA) and Supreme Court Regulation (PERMA) No. 4 of 2014. In the context of children involved in gangster groups, diversion faces more complex challenges, both legally and practically. Barriers such as limited facilities, lack of understanding among law enforcement personnel, resistance from victims, and weak coordination between institutions are major obstacles to its implementation. Therefore, strengthening the implementation of diversion is necessary through: Training of law enforcement officers, Involvement of community leaders, and Development of rehabilitative approaches that are contextual and responsive to children's needs. Diversion is not merely a legal solution, but a strategic means to prevent children from falling deeper into the cycle of criminality, while also offering them a dignified second chance.

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